

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 ERDA-05 AF-08 ARA-06 CIAE-00
EA-07 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 IO-13 L-03 NASA-01 NEA-10
NSAE-00 NSC-05 SP-02 PA-01 PRS-01 OES-06 SS-15
USIA-06 /124 W

-----112012Z 129378 /45

R 111656Z MAR 77
FM USMISSION NATO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2143
SECDEF WASHDC

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 1391

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PARM, PFOR, MARR, NATO, FR
SUBJECT: NATO CONSULTATIONS ON SALT

REF: (A) 76 USNATO 2226 (DTG 231640Z APR 76), (B) 76 STATE 047239
(DTG 270017Z FEB 76), (C) 75 ROME 5928 (DTG 221025Z APR 75), (D) 75
PARIS 10766 (DTG 281739Z APR 75), (E) 75 USNATO 2423 (DTG 301815Z
APR 75), (F) BONN 03500 (DTG 251647Z FEB 77), (G) USNATO 1111
(DTG 021105Z MAR 77)

SUMMARY: OUR RECORD OF CONSULTATIONS WITH THE ALLIES
ON SALT IS EXCELLENT. WE HAVE GENERALLY BEEN TIMELY
IN OUR BRIEFINGS--AND THE ALLIES
HAVE BEEN WELL SATISFIED, EXCEPT DURING THE RUSH TO
THE FINISH AT THE END OF SALT I. THE US SHOULD SEEK
TO MAINTAIN AND EVEN IMPROVE THIS RECORD, AS WE MOVE
AHEAD WITH SALT II AND BEYOND. THE ALLIES ARE IN-
TENSELY INTERESTED IN THE NEW ADMINISTRATION'S APPROACH
TO SALT, AND, SINCE THERE HAS BEEN NO SALT BRIEFING
HERE SINCE NOVEMBER, THEY ARE KEEN TO HEAR FROM THE
SECRETARY WHEN HE VISITS NATO ON HIS WAY TO MOSCOW
IN LATER MARCH. THE KEYS TO SUCCESSFUL SALT CON-
SULTATIONS WITH THE ALLIES ARE FAIRLY SIMPLE:

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TIMELINESS; SENSITIVITY TO ALLIED CONCERNS ON NON-
CIRCUMVENTION, NON-TRANSFER, AND FBS; AND, FINALLY,
KEEPING ALLIED INTERESTS IN MIND WHEN FINAL NEGO-
TIATING PRESSURES ABSORB OUR FULL ATTENTION. END
SUMMARY.

1. VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE'S PLEDGE TO THE NAC IN
JANUARY TO CONSULT FULLY WITH THE ALLIES ON SALT,
AND THE ANTICIPATED BRIEFING BY THE SECRETARY BEFORE

HIS TRIP TO MOSCOW IN MARCH, HAVE REASSURED THE ALLIES THAT THEY WILL BE KEPT ABREAST OF THE NEW ADMINISTRATION'S APPROACH TO SALT AND DEVELOPMENTS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS WHEN THEY RESUME.

2. AS WE PROCEED, IT IS WORTH RECALLING THAT THE HEAD OF THE US SALT DELEGATION HAS BRIEFED THE COUNCIL TWENTY-NINE TIMES DURING SALT II, IN SESSIONS THAT WERE USUALLY FOLLOWED BY A MEETING OF SALT EXPERTS FROM NATO CAPITALS. THE LAST SUCH CONSULTATION WAS HELD IN NOVEMBER 1976. THESE PRESENTATIONS HAVE BEEN SUPPLEMENTED BY DISCUSSIONS IN THE RESTRICTED NAC MINISTERIAL SESSIONS AND SPECIAL BRIEFINGS BY KEY US OFFICIALS, SUCH AS SECRETARY KISSINGER'S BRIEFING IN JANUARY 1976 FOLLOWING HIS TRIP TO MOSCOW. WHILE THESE CONSULTATIONS HAVE SERVED PRIMARILY TO INFORM THE ALLIES OF THE STATUS OF NEGOTIATIONS IN GENEVA, AND ON CHANGES IN THE US POSITION, THE ALLIES HAVE BEEN SATISFIED WITH THIS APPROACH SINCE MOST HAVE NEITHER THE NEED, NOR THE EXPERT CAPABILITIES, TO FOLLOW SALT, AND ITS MINOR DETAILS, AS WE DO IN WASHINGTON.

3. AS THE US MOVES FORWARD IN THIS ENDEAVOR, WE CAN MAINTAIN OUR EXCELLENT TRACK RECORD IN SALT CONSULTATIONS WITH THE ALLIES BY:

--BRIEFINGS ON A REGULAR, TIMELY BASIS;

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--SEEKING TO MAINTAIN ALLIED SUPPORT AND COHESION AS CENTRAL TO OUR OVERALL OBJECTIVES IN SALT;

--PLANNING AHEAD FOR SUCH CONSULTATIONS AS AN INTEGRAL, IF ANCILLARY, PART OF OUR SALT EFFORTS-- PARTICULARLY WHEN NEGOTIATING AND DOMESTIC PRESSURES, IN THE HOME STRETCH, MAY PREEMPT THE FOCUS AND ATTENTION OF US SALT OFFICIALS;

--REMAINING SENSITIVE TO ALLIED CONCERNS ON NON-CIRCUMVENTION, NON-TRANSFER, AND FBS.

4. SPECIFICALLY, THE ALLIES WILL BE CONCERNED ABOUT ANY SALT PROVISIONS THAT MIGHT INHIBIT:

--FUTURE EUROPEAN NUCLEAR OPTIONS RELEVANT TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF A EUROPEAN DEFENSE ARRANGEMENT;

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 USNATO 1391

--THE ABILITY OF THE US TO SUPPLY ITS EUROPEAN
PARTNERS WITH NUCLEAR-CAPABLE DELIVERY SYSTEMS;
--THE ABILITY OF OUR EUROPEAN ALLIES TO DEVELOP
OR ACQUIRE HEFTY CRUISE MISSILE SYSTEMS
(WE WILL DEAL WITH EUROPEAN PERCEPTIONS OF THE
CRUISE MISSILE IN SEPTTEL);
--FOR THE UK, LIMITATIONS ON NUCLEAR COOPERA-
TION WITH THE US AND POSSIBLE UPGRADING OR RE-
PLACEMENT OF THE POLARIS MISSILES THE US SUP-
PLIED TO THE UK PURSUANT TO THE 1963 AGREEMENT.
THE COMPREHENSIVE SOVIET PROPOSAL ON NON-TRANSFER
IS RELEVANT TO A NUMBER OF THESE EUROPEAN CONCERNS.

5. THE ALLIES HAVE EMPHASIZED THE CENTRALITY OF THESE
CONCERNS THROUGHOUT THE SALT NEGOTIATIONS, AND HAVE
INSISTED THAT WE CONSULT WITH THEM FULLY ON THESE
ISSUES BEFORE A SALT II AGREEMENT IS CONCLUDED. FOR
OUR PART, WE HAVE ASSURED THE ALLIES OF OUR INTENTION
TO DO SO (REFS A AND B).

6. WHILE NATO CONSULTATIONS ON NON-CIRCUMVENTION AND
NON-TRANSFER SHOULD BE DELAYED UNTIL THE US HAS A
CLEARER IDEA OF THE PROVISIONS IT MAY BE PREPARED
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TO ACCEPT IN SALT II, WE SHOULD REGULARLY AFFIRM
TO THE ALLIES OUR SENSITIVITY TO THEIR CONCERNS IN
THESE AREAS. MOVEOVER, ADVANCED BILATERAL CONSUL-
TATIONS WITH THE UK AND FRG, WHO HAVE THE GREATEST
INTEREST IN THESE ISSUES, WOULD BE USEFUL WHEN THE
OUTLINES OF NON-TRANSFER AND NON-CIRCUMVENTION
FORMULAE BEING TO TAKE SHAPE. THE SPECIFICITY OF
THE PROVISIONS WE ACCEPT WILL INFLUENCE REQUIRE-
MENTS FOR BOTH THE DEPTH OF CONSULTATIONS AND THE
LENGTH OF TIME, IN THE LATTER STAGES OF NEGOTIATIONS,
TO GAN ALLIED ASSENT.

7. WE RECALL AS WELL THAT OUR EUROPEAN ALLIES SINCE

SALT I HAVE PERIODICALLY ASSESSED THE IMPLICATIONS
OF THE SALT NEGOTIATIONS FOR EUROPEAN INTERESTS
THROUGH THE INFORMAL "PETRIGNANI GROUP". ORIGINALLY
HEADED BY RINALDO PETRIGNANI, CHIEF OF THE ITALIAN
FOREIGN MINISTRY'S DISARMAMENT OFFICE DURING SALT I,
THE ORGANIZATION CONSISTS OF THE EUROPEAN NATO ALLIES
LESS FRANCE (REFS C AND D). DORMANT SINCE APRIL 1975
WHEN IT PRESENTED A PAPER WHICH STRESSED THEIR CON-
CERNS OF FBS, "NON-TRANSFER" AND "NON-CIRCUMVENTION"
(REF E), THIS GROUP CAN BE EXPECTED TO REVIVE WHEN IT
APPEARS THAT PROGRESS IN SALT II MAY IMPINGE ON AREAS
OF SPECIAL EUROPEAN CONCERNS. STRAUSS-HUPE

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